

Missionary Activity of A. G. Ibragimov (1857–1944) in Japan

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The paper describes missionary work of A. G. Ibragimov in Japan and his relations with various strata of Japanese society during that period. The main works in Japanese are those of Japanese Turkologists: Misawa Nobuo, Komatsu Hisao and others, including those whose research work focuses on the history of the Ottoman Empire. Ibragimov visited Japan three times. Very little information is available about the first and the second visits; however, the third visit is described in considerable detail in his own diaries, among other things. His communication with the Japanese (who were traditionally considered ardent nationalists) aroused as much interest as his communication with representatives of the ruling class, which, as many researchers believe, could have influenced Japanese politics in 1930s. Ibragimov's social circle included: Ohara Bunkei, the founder of the Ajia Gikai and the first Japanese Muslim; Toyama Mitsuru, the founder of the Gen'yosha and the leader of the Japanese right-wing movement; Nakano Jotaro (Tenshin), a Japanese thinker and one of the ideologists of the Ajia Gikai; Kono Hironaka, a member of the lower house of the Japanese parliament and the Minister of Agriculture and Trade 1915–1916; Inukai Tsuyoshi, the Minister of Internal Affairs and the Minister of Education as well as the Prime Minister of Japan during the last years of his life; many other representatives of the upper class, including close associates and members of the imperial family. Ibragimov's activities lead to the emergence of the first Muslim societies in Japan; many representatives of the Japanese nobility and ordinary people converted to Islam and even performed Hajj. Tokyo saw the construction of one of the largest mosques in Japan. It may be argued that the Japanese society witnessed a spark of interest in Islam; moreover, Japan established ties with Muslim countries in the Middle East. He contributed to the establishment of Pan-Asian societies, which functioned until the end of World War II. He was engaged in public awareness campaign as well as teaching: one of his students was Izutsu Toshihiko, the greatest Japanese specialist in Islamic studies, a polyglot and professor of the University of Tokyo.

Keywords: A. G. Ibragimov, Japan, Islam, missionary work, Ottoman Empire, Turkey, Hajj.

Introduction

In 2018, Hiroshi Shimada's book “AIを信じるか神を信じるか” (“Do you believe in AI or God”) was published in Japan. In one of the chapters, the author reflects on the Islamisation of Europe and poses the following question: “Is the Islamisation of Japan possible?” [1, p. 80]. The book notes that, despite the increasing number of Japanese women who marry Muslims every year, Islam, as a monotheistic religion, is perceived by the Japanese through the lens of traditional religious beliefs, expressed in syncretism, which is also

the reason why there is only one relatively small Christian community in the country. The author comes to the conclusion that the Islamisation of the whole world is likely to occur earlier than that of Japan [1, p. 83].

From this point of view, it is interesting to analyse the views that were common among Japanese Muslims in the 19th — early 20th centuries, as well as what the Japanese government thought about Islamisation during that period. It is not unimportant to study the activities of Abdurashid Gumerovich Ibragimov (Abdurreshid Ibrahim), who is believed to be the main ideologist of Pan-Islamism in Japan and who played the role of an “alarm” designed to awaken the Muslim political movement of the first quarter of the 20th century, a bridge between the metropolitan political circles of Russia and Muslims [2, p. 80]. Is it noteworthy that the US Office of Strategic Services called him a “fiery missionary”? [3, pp. 179–187].

A. G. Ibragimov, being the first Russian Muslim to develop the theory of political and cultural autonomy of Muslims in Russia [4, pp. 396–415], the personification of Islamic collectivism, publicity and anti-missionary [5, p. 160], achieved fame not only through his speeches and articles in journals that he published himself, but also through numerous trips to Turkestan, Eastern Siberia, Japan, Korea, China, Singapore, India, Arabia with its shrines — Mecca and Medina, the Ottoman Empire, etc. It is noteworthy that the providers of funds for these trips still remain undisclosed.

One of the main trips that changed his life was his trip to Japan, which he admired due to the rapid progress of the “Land of the Rising Sun”. In his opinion, this was due to the intensive adoption of Western experience, science and technology while preserving Japanese spiritual values. Hence, he wished to transfer this “Japanese experience” to Russian Muslims, in particular Tatars, who, in his opinion, “have not yet woken up from a long sleep” [6, p. 209]. He appreciated the Japanese as hardworking people, but was afraid of the danger of artificial Westernisation [6, p. 209]. This perception as well as A. G. Ibragimov’s admiration for Japan later made him a link between Japanese Pan-Asian thinkers and the Muslim world, which influenced Japan’s policy towards Muslims during World War II.

Japan’s relations with the Ottoman Empire and other Muslim countries in the 19th–20th centuries

Japan’s first contacts with the Ottoman Empire occurred in the second half of the 19th century. For instance, in 1873, Istanbul was visited by Fukuchi Genichiro and Shimaji Mokurai, members of the Iwakura Mission. In 1875, Japan made a proposition to the Ottoman Empire to establish diplomatic relations [7]. As a result of the agreements, certain economic relations were established. For example, the Japanese ship “Seiki” was able to go through the Suez Canal to the Mediterranean Sea (1878) for the first time. In 1880–1881, the Japanese government sent a mission led by Yoshida Masaharu to the Ottoman Empire and Persia. In 1887, Prince Komatsunomiya Akihito paid an official visit to Istanbul, which resulted in a report about the “army inspection” [8, p. 23]. Further, in 1889 and 1896, General Fukushima Yasumasa visited Istanbul and prepared a report about his visit. It is noteworthy that in 1892 he rode on horseback from Berlin all the way to Japan through Poland, Russia, Manchuria, Mongolia and China. Terauchi Masatake (Prime Minister from 1916 to 1918) and Admiral of the Fleet Baron Shimamura Hayao

also visited Istanbul. It should be noted that the Japanese military circles showed interest in the Ottoman Empire earlier than others [8, p. 23].

An important milestone in Japanese-Ottoman relations was 1890: on September 18, 1890, Ertogrul, a frigate of the Ottoman Navy sent with an official diplomatic mission, sank off the coast of Japan near the city of Kushimoto. Up until now this event is important for both sides. On October 23, 2005, in the Nezahat Gökyiğit Botanical Garden (Istanbul) on Ertogrul Island, the Japanese Sakura Foundation planted 527 sakura seedlings in memory of the victims of the disaster, one for each deceased [9].

According to researchers, Japan's first contact with the countries of the Muslim world occurred in 1872, when the merchant ship Zadkia arrived in Japan from Tunisia. The fact that the Japanese government gave permission for a foreign ship to enter the ports of Japan is considered by many historians to be an attempt by the Japanese leadership to demonstrate to other countries that Japan is a civilized and humane country [10, pp. 1–13]. Moreover, Japan organized a return of the survivors from the shipwrecked Ertogrul to Istanbul. To this end, they used a Japanese warship whose crew included Akiyama Saneyuki, who became famous during the Russo-Japanese war of 1905.

It should be mentioned that in 1918–1922 Japan made an attempt to release and transfer from internment camps more than 1,000 prisoners of war from among the soldiers of the Ottoman Empire and their family members during the Japanese intervention in Siberia. England, France, and Italy were apprehensive about this fact; therefore, they passed information to the Greek government, and the Japanese squadron was unable to dock in Istanbul. As a result, the European powers and the Japanese government agreed that the prisoners of war would be transferred to Italy [8, pp. 21–34].

Such Japanese “pragmatism” resulted in the fact that Japan, like the Europeans, tried to coerce Ottoman Empire into signing an unequal trade treaty. However, the attempt to establish such Japanese-Ottoman diplomatic relations was unsuccessful.

Noda Mashataro played a key role in Japanese-Ottoman relations. He was not only the first Japanese citizen to convert to Islam (1891), but also the first Japanese correspondent in Muslim countries. He was the first to introduce the Japanese to Khoja Nasreddin — a character of folk art not only of the Ottoman Empire, but also of other Turkic countries. During his two years in Istanbul, he wrote articles for a Japanese newspaper, taught Japanese to the Ottoman military, and met with local intellectuals like Ahmet Mithat, a well-known journalist of the time [11, pp. 120–136].

Before the outbreak of World War II (1939–1945), Japan actively developed economic ties with the Muslim world. For one, among the Japanese entrepreneurs who visited Muslim countries was Shibusawa Eiichi, the “father of Japanese capitalism”, who left notes about his stay in Egypt. By 1939, Muslim countries accounted for one-fourth of the Japanese trade [12, pp. 37–65]. Japan invested in China, South East Asia, India and those regions where the majority were Muslims. Early 1920s saw the beginning of cotton export from Japan, which is one of the major export items to the Middle East. By 1923, the volume of exports to Egypt had increased to such an extent that it even surpassed the export volume to the US and Europe. However, the rapid development of Egypt's own national cotton industry after 1936 led to a drop in Japanese exports. Then Japan began exporting various goods to Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Iraq and Yemen. This was facilitated by the pilgrimage of Japanese Muslims (Hajj), organised by Wakabayashi Khan, who was engaged in creating an agent network among Chinese Muslims, which was supported by

the leadership of the Kwantung Army. It was sponsored by such companies as Mitsui, Mitsubishi and Sumitomo. This “anti-communist network” was created in case of a possible war with the Soviet Union.

Pan-Islamism and Islam among the Japanese

When studying Pan-Islamist sentiments among Japanese Muslims, it should be noted that they initially drew on knowledge about Islam from European sources. Still, even after getting to know Islam directly through Muslim missionaries (the first Muslim head of state who visited Japan (in 1883) was Abu Bakar, Sultan of Johor; he met with the Japanese imperial family and some Japanese statesmen), many perceived Islam “from a Japanese perspective”. The five pillars of Islam were often perceived by the Japanese as four, since the declaration of faith was not perceived as a bodily and spiritual practice and many did not understand the essence of the declaration [13, pp. 83–101]. The first Japanese to perform Hajj, Yamaoka Kotaro, as well as Ariga Bumpachiro, Tanaka Ippei and many other Japanese Muslims believed that the Shinto god Amenominakanushi, the first deity and source of the universe in Shintoism, is Allah [14, pp. 89–112]. Tanaka Ippei was a military translator who served in the army during the Russian-Japanese war. Afterwards, he performed Hajj and even wanted to spread the “Mahayana type of Islam” to achieve a clear perception of Islam by the Japanese. However, before his death, he prayed in the Ise Grand Shrine [14, pp. 89–112]. In Japan there were those who were proud that their country was the first after the Meiji Restoration (1868–1889) to “come out of Asia”, i. e. reached the level of European countries economically, politically and even spiritually. Along with the fact that they explained Islam through Shintoism and Buddhism, they considered loyalty to the emperor and the state one of the main aspects of Islam.

A. G. Ibragimov’s visit to Japan and his diaries

History knows about several trips of A. G. Ibragimov to Japan. However, most of the information available is about his visit in 1909. At that time, as L. R. Usmanova emphasizes, “...interest in Muslim countries was also used to create a pro-Japanese lobby in the Islamic world. The emergence of right-wing groups with nationalist and anti-western ideology resulted from the aspirations of those members of the Japanese elite who did not participate in the Meiji Restoration, but expected revenge and return to power...” [15, p. 179].

It is most likely that Ibragimov came to Japan at the invitation of the Kokuryukai (黒龍会), a well-known ultranationalist organization in Japan, which believed that Japan should play a leading role in the liberation of Asia.

In January 1909, Ibragimov bought a ticket at the Japanese Consulate in Vladivostok. The Japanese side already had information about him, since two “consulate secretaries” had visited his hotel and given him a list of people they thought he would be interested in meeting. He was also recommended to visit the Kihinkai (貴賓会) [6, pp. 45–46], established in 1893 for foreign travellers so that they could travel around Japan without any difficulties. One of the founders of this organization was Shibusawa Eiichi. Ibragimov would later get to know Shibusawa himself, as he was also seen at the farewell party [6, p. 403]. In

his diary, Ibragimov wrote that he had paid 3 yen and had become a member of this organization, and also had received a letter of recommendation [6, p. 153].

The trip turned out to be successful from the very first day: in Japan, Ibragimov met a Russian-speaking Japanese young man who accompanied him to the train [6, p. 49]. A few days later he managed to get to know a Russian who was presumably from the “department of the Asian part” [6, p. 58].

Later, on February 11, 1909, he met a “teacher” who, according to his notes, spoke Russian. Together they set off for the Kigen-setsu state holiday (紀元節). It was believed that Emperor Jimmu, who was a direct descendant of the sun goddess Amaterasu Omikami, was crowned on this day. Furthermore, this day was also the 20th anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution. Ibragimov met there the head and editor of the Kokumin newspaper, Tokutomi Soho, who introduces him to the Russian-speaking Nakayama Itsuzo, his deputy editor. It was Nakayama Itsuzo who would accompany Ibragimov on his further trip to Japan [6, pp. 68–69].

Information from his diaries and other sources revealed that Ibragimov had repeatedly met with many representatives of the Japanese elite. The most significant of them was Okuma Shigenobu, founder of Waseda University, former Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan. He discussed religious issues with Ibragimov. According to Okuma, the Japanese religion was the “spirit of Yamato”. He proved that during the Russo-Japanese war, the Orthodox Japanese also fought against the Russians. They also discussed the international situation. Okuma believed that the United States might well have a lot of money and brag about bread, but they could not fight or bring about warriors. When Ibragimov asked him about the unification of Japan and China, he replied that “this problem is important for both countries” [6, pp. 73–78]. Their conversation, which lasted two hours, was partially published in the Hochi newspaper (報知新聞), in the issue dated February 18, 1909. The newspaper indicates that Ibragimov spoke about racial discrimination in Russia, while Okuma expressed his opinion that some Christians started discrimination, although the difference between whites and Mongoloids is only in skin colour. The Tokyo Mainichi newspaper (東京毎日新聞) from the same day writes about Ibragimov’s visit to Waseda University. On March 22 of the same year, the university hosted the first lecture on Islam, which lasted three hours. The lecturer was an officer of the Egyptian army who had participated in the Mahdist Revolt (1881–1899), a friend of Ibragimov’s, Ahmed Fadori, whose Koran is still kept at Waseda University.

Ibragimov attended a meeting of the Shidankai (史談会) Historical Society, where he talked about “the discrimination of Tatars by Russians and the policy of the Russification of Tatars” [6, p. 195]. The meeting was also attended by a Japanese statesman, a member of the Imperial Council and the Privy Council, Count Hijikata Hisamoto, who was a close friend of Emperor Meiji. After the meeting, Ibragimov became a frequent guest of the count. “The count calls the Tatars lions, and the lions, as the count put it, must break the chains” [6, p. 195].

Ibragimov was friends with other wealthy people and with the aristocracy of Japan. For example, Okura Kihachiro was one of the richest people in Japan at that time, as well as a well-known art collector in a museum visited by Ibragimov. Another example is Count Matsuura Atsushi, who told Ibragimov that “faith provides support for an individual, and Islam fits the nature of the Oriental people” [6, pp. 116, 167].

He also met with prominent nationalists of that time, such as Honjo Yasutaro, a member of the Gen'yosha (玄洋社) and the Kokuryukai (黒龍会); Uchida Ryohei, a Japanese ultranationalist politician, a member of the Kokuryukai; Miyake Setsurei, a famous literary critic and nationalist who was in charge of the "Japan and the Japanese" magazine (日本及日本人), which published two articles by Ibragimov [6, pp. 307, 327–330, 344].

He also met representatives of the Japanese intelligentsia: Aruga Nagao, a historian and a lawyer in international law, a legal adviser to the Meiji government; Tomizu Hirono, a legal scholar in the field of Roman law, a member of the lower house of parliament, nicknamed "Professor of the Baikal"; Hattori Unokichi, a Sinologist who specialised in Chinese philosophy; Sasaki Yasugoro, a Mongolian scholar, who was popularly called the King of Mongolia. Sasaki Yasugoro invited the above-mentioned Jun Wang of Torgut, the son of the Torgut ruler, to Japan, where he later completed his studies at the military academy of the Imperial Japanese Army. (In 1909, Ibragimov stayed with him when he arrived in Beijing [6, p. 287].)

Ibragimov discussed with them the possibility of uniting Japan with China and the "terrible" behaviour of the missionaries, who were to blame for Japan and China being separated and Japanese youth becoming Europeanised. Ibragimov said that $\frac{1}{3}$ of China's population were Muslims; therefore, it was necessary to unite with them to fight against Europeans and Europeanised peoples and Christians. It is interesting to note that in their discussion they provided characteristics of "Eastern" and "Western" peoples. They talked about the purity and chastity of Eastern peoples, who only aspire for peace, whereas Europeans are cruel, cowardly and hostile dreamers [6, pp. 220–225]. It should be noted that Western Orientalist scholars of the 19th century considered Eastern peoples "...backward, degenerate, and underdeveloped people, who possess lamentable foreignness. Europeans, on the other hand, are inherently reasonable, logical and sceptical. The mind of an Eastern individual lacks symmetry. His reasoning is of the most casual nature" [16, pp. 64, 72–73, 296, 316].

Ibragimov also met with the famous Marshal Oyama Iwao when he was already the director of a boarding school. At that time prominent statesmen and military figures opened or contributed to the opening of such schools. When asked why he works as a school principal, he replied that he "wants to educate 1800 Oyama in a few years" (people like him) [6, p. 277].

It stands to mention that he also met with Ito Hirobumi (伊藤博文, 1841–1909), the first Prime Minister of Japan, the author of the draft of the first Japanese constitution and the first resident general of Korea. During the meetings they exchanged views on the reforms that had been carried out during the Meiji Restoration, about the Iwakura mission and religion [6, p. 177].

At that time, the Japanese government presented itself as a representative of the civilized world, as a religiously free and spiritually close to the West state; it tolerated and strongly supported Christian denominations [17, pp. 57–85]. However, both Ibragimov, who believed that the purpose of the missionary service was to exploit the population under the guise of religion [6, p. 374], and his Japanese acquaintances expressed a negative attitude towards European missionaries and Nikolai of Japan (Kasatkin), the founder of the Orthodox Church in Japan. In his diary, Ibragimov writes about the decline of Nicholas's authority after the Russo-Japanese War, and praises his friend Umehara Kitaro, who wrote the book "The Russo-Japanese War and the Church of Nicholas", where he criticized the

Orthodox Church and Nicholas himself. This difficult period for the Japanese Orthodox Church is clearly described in the diaries of Nicholas of Japan himself:

February 10/23, 1904. Tuesday

In “Mainichi-shimbun” today I am praised for staying here despite the war, in “Yomiuri-shimbun” I was scolded for the same thing, I was called a fool; my portrait is also placed here, all fringed with scolding...

March 10/23, 1904. Wednesday

The word “rotan” (Russian spy) has now turned into an expletive all over Japan; people scold each other with this word, for whatever reason they quarrel. It is widely used by political parties in mutual quarrels: if it is not my party, then it is rotan, and there is no excuse and no mercy!.. [18, p. 123–127].

Returning from the trip to Japan

Abdul-Hamid II treated Ibragimov with caution and disapproved of many of his active actions. After the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, which was also actively covered by Japanese newspapers [6, p. 238], the Ottoman Islamist community began to pay more and more attention to Ibragimov. In 1909–1917, he actively conducted Pan-Islamic anti-Russian propaganda.

On December 11, 1909 Ibragimov arrived in Mecca with Yamaoka Kotaro (Omar) (1880–1959). He was the first Japanese to perform Hajj, and, as it turned out, was closely associated with the Japanese intelligence agency, which was interested in obtaining information about the Middle East. Yamaoka tried to convince Muslims of Japan’s leading role, while Ibragimov advocated the unification of Muslims under the leadership of Mehmed V, the Ottoman Caliph.

In his diary, Ibragimov condemned corruption, decadence and ignorance in Mecca [18, p. 494]. During his journey, he got to know representatives of the Muslim elite and met with the consuls of the “Sublime Porte”. He noticed that the decline and decadence of the Ottoman Empire had encroached on the consuls, who were not only strongly influenced by the West, but also had withdrawn from the leadership and did not have any moral values [19, pp. 299–303].

Ibragimov and Yamaoka took part in three conferences held under the auspices of the Young Turk government. Interestingly, one of them was organized by the Society of Muslim Students of Russia on March 22, 1910, where Ibragimov’s activities during the Russian revolution of 1905 were described as an attempt to establish unity between Sunnis and Shiites of Russia [20, pp. 86–104]. After the Hajj, Ibragimov and Yamaoka returned to Istanbul via Medina and Beirut. During their stay in Istanbul, they submitted a petition to the Ottoman Sultan asking for a permission to build a mosque in Japan [15, p. 183].

In 1911, Ibragimov, while in Istanbul, took the lead in the Young Tatar movement with the aim of uniting Russian Muslims under the auspices of Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turkic ideas. The weekly magazine “Tearüf-i-Müslimin” [21] was published under his editorship. It gave coverage to the problem of Russian Muslims [22, pp. 18–23]. Masami Arai (新井政美) noted that Turkish nationalists limited their interests to the Ottoman Empire and the building of the Ottoman nation, while the Turks who lived in the Russian Empire and Turkic emigrants adhered to the ideas of Pan-Turkism [23, pp. 125–140].

In 1913, just two months after the coup d'état known as the "Raid on the Sublime Porte", Ibragimov accepted Turkish citizenship. He published the "İslam Dünyası" magazine [24, pp. 130–142], which targeted the Ottoman readership. During this period, there was a lack of large projects connected with the ideas of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turanism. Criticism of the ulama was more common; they, in his opinion, were the cause of moral decay in the society [6, p. 495]. Despite the popularity of the image of Japan, which was rumoured to convert to Islam in the near future, the Ottoman government and the leaders of İttihâd ve Terakkî were far from adhering to the "Asian policy". Ibragimov stated that due to the pro-British policies of Mehmed Talaat Pasha and Mehmet Djavid Bey, "he was unable to fully pursue Pan-Islamic and Asian policies" [20, pp. 86–104].

In 1915, during World War I, Ibragimov became an agent of the Teşkilat-i Mahsusa, Ottoman Secret Service, which was created by Enver Pasha to coordinate intelligence activities, spread propaganda against Russian and British colonial rule in various parts of the Muslim world, and to conduct intelligence activities and punitive operations. In fact, it was a structure engaged in intelligence gathering, espionage, propaganda and gang warfare as tactical tools to achieve operational goals, such as organizing uprisings in the enemy's spheres of influence or mobilizing targeted masses against political authorities by supporting existing uprisings. It should be noted that during this period, organizations of this kind were not unique either in the Ottoman Empire or around the globe. Enver Bey by all means had a dominant position in the organization due to its military nature. Its work was mainly performed by officers close to him, and he was also one of the leading figures who determined the military strategy of the Ottoman Empire in the World War I. However, other members also had influence on the composition of the ruling circles. For example, Aziz Bey, director of Emniyet-i Umumiye (Directorate of Security), was not only a direct employee of the Interior Minister Talat Bey, but also a prominent official who served as Secretary General of the Committee of Union and Progress (İttihat ve Terakki Fırkası) [25, pp. 46–55]. Ibragimov even visited Germany on the instruction and at the expense of this organization, where he worked among Russian Muslims. Then he became a propagandist of Pan-Islamism in the office of the German Foreign Ministry [4, pp. 396–415].

His articles were published in the "Der Neue Orient" magazine ("New East"), which was published twice a month in Berlin. The magazine also was engaged in active propaganda designed to weaken the Entente countries. In the article "The Revival of the Turkic-Tatar peoples", he wrote that 1880s saw the "revival of the Tatars". He mentioned the establishment of the political party "İttifaq al-Musulimin" ("Union of the Muslims of Russia") in 1905, and the beginning of the heyday of the Tatar press [26, pp. 194–202]. Ibragimov, in his latest publication in this magazine, "My Letter to the Pope", accused Christians and their government before God, since Europe was silent about the oppression of national minorities by the Russian authorities. Russia not only "with purely Assyrian cruelty broke the will to resist of the nomadic population of Bashkiriya", but in Europe it also acted with cruelty against Finland, Poland, and Ukraine [27, pp. 203–210].

The entry of the Ottoman Empire in World War I in 1914 and the declaration of jihad to Britain, France and Russia were supposed to launch the implementation of the German leadership's plan to "revolutionise" Muslim peoples living under the rule of the Entente countries. The idea of the military use of Muslim peoples belonged to the German orientalist Max von Oppenheim. It is known that the German authorities had been conducting propaganda among Russian Muslim prisoners of war since 1915, with the active participa-

tion of the Turkish government. The German propaganda was supposed, on the one hand, to win the Muslims over to the side of jihad and provoke uprisings in the British, French and Russian colonial regions; on the other hand, it was supposed to create long-lasting positive ties between these Muslim peoples and Germany. Emigrants from Russia, including Ibragimov, were involved in propaganda work. He translated the “El Jihad” newspaper into Tatar [28, pp. 38–39]. Moreover, it is believed that Ibragimov even planned to stage an insurgency against the British in Afghanistan during those years [3, pp. 179, 182–187].

After the October Revolution and the events that followed, Ibragimov became a member of the Umum Alemler İhtilal Teşkilatı (World Organization of the Islamic Uprising), a secret Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turkic organization of Enver Pasha, which was a successor to the organization operating in Berlin. Ibragimov dealt with Russian issues, while the scope of activities of the Russian Muslims branch, which included Chinese Muslims, was probably limited to the Caucasus, Crimea and Turkestan [25, pp. 46–55]. During these years, Ibragimov was actively involved in the promotion of Pan-Turkism or Pan-Turanism, which was in line with Enver Pasha’s political interests [20, pp. 97–98].

In 1925, Ibragimov emigrated to Turkey. After the establishment of the Turkish Republic, in 1933, he moved to Japan at the invitation of Kanda Masatane, Lieutenant General of the Imperial Japanese Army, who worked at the Turkish consulate at that time [29, pp. 5–86].

Muslim policy in Japan. “Ajia Gikai”

The “Ajia Gikai” (“Asian Awakening Society”) is the first Muslim society in Japan, which was established in 1909. Takeyoshi Ohara (Abu Bakir) (1865–1933), a former officer of the General Staff of the Japanese Army and a member of the Toa Dobunkai, received money from General Utsunomiya Taro (1861–1922) to establish an “anti-Christian union”. The same year, Ibragimov and a group of individuals signed an oath that the US Office of Strategic Services called the “Muslim oath” [3, pp. 169–187].

The signatories were:

Ohara Takeyoshi (Bunkei) (1865–1933), the founder of the Ajia Gikai, is, according to Ibragimov, “the first Japanese” who converted to Islam. He introduced Ibragimov to Toyama Mitsuru (1855–1944), the leader of the Japanese right-wing movement and the founder of the Gen’yosha (玄洋社) Toyama Mitsuru (1855–1944);

Nakano Jotaro (Tenshin) (1866–1928), a Japanese thinker and one of the ideologists of the “Ajia Gikai”;

Kono Hironaka (1849–1923), member of the Lower house of the Japanese Parliament and Minister of Agriculture and Trade in 1915–1916;

Inukai Tsuyoshi (1885–1932), Minister of the Interior and Minister of Education as well as Prime Minister of Japan during the last years of his life; he was one of the major Japanese politicians of a liberal persuasion, however, when it comes to, foreign policy he adhered to Pan-Asianism;

Yamada Kinosuke (1859–1913), a lawyer for the “war party” or a supporter of the “hawk”, who was against the Treaty of Portsmouth;

Aoyanagi Katsutoshi (1879–1934), a cavalry captain, was friends with General Utsunomiya Taro [15, p. 180].

The “Ajia Gikai” proclaimed the following: “Our Asia, being full of sublime and sacred thoughts, occupies the most important place in the world. Asia surpasses any other continent in terms of its size, wildlife, population size and wealth of products. Moreover, the first civilization originated in Asia, and the great idea came from Asia. However, our great sadness is that Asian peoples not only lack communication with it, but they also do not hesitate to fight with each other. This struggle between Asian peoples allowed Western forces to invade the East. Without understanding this mistake and ending the internal strife, Asian peoples have no future. Confident in their abilities, Asian peoples with their outstanding ethical philosophies and manners, as well as with their special character and mindset, should make efforts to reform and develop Asia. That is why we founded the ‘Ajia Gikai’. We want to address our goals to a wide audience in Asia and encourage them to participate in and support the organization” [15, pp. 178–180].

The aim of the “Ajia Gikai”, as the members themselves emphasized, was to study politics, religion, education and economics, as well as to teach different foreign languages to members of the organisation. Still, it was also important for them to fight against Western imperialism and Christian missionaries, to spread Islam in Japan, and even make an attempt to adopt Islam as the official religion of the country [19, pp. 299–303]. In the future, its branches were to be established in such countries as Thailand, China and Turkey. This resulted in the implementation of the first item of the plan. Besides, a number of articles, scholarly papers and maps related to Islam were published in the “Daito” magazine, which at first was a magazine personally published by Nakano Jotaro, and only then was transferred to the society. The central figure of this magazine was Ohara Yamaoka. He wrote Hajj articles and played an important role. The magazine was intended only for members of the society, and although most of them were Japanese, members of the organization included foreigners, even those who did not live in Japan. They were mostly Arabs and Ottomans. When the first graduates of Istanbul University came to Japan in June 1909 to continue their studies at Waseda University, they also began writing articles for the magazine. As Professor Misawa points out, this magazine can be called the first Japanese innovative magazine whose articles focused on Islam. Unfortunately, some of its issues have not been found. It is also interesting that only one article by Ibragimov was published in the magazine. It is a translation of a letter to the “Ajia Gikai”; although he himself wrote in his diary that the society was founded when he arrived in Japan. Thus, it can be assumed that the idea of establishing such an organisation arose before Ibragimov’s arrival, and the Japanese considered the establishment of this organization to be their own achievement [30, pp. 60–75].

Islamic policy in Japan in 1930s

After restrictions were imposed on religious freedom in Russia, ten Tatar families emigrated to Japan in 1926. Here, while in exile, they, at first, resold products brought from Russia, and then got engaged in tailoring European-style clothes and selling them to large stores. Demand for this kind of clothing increased sharply after the Russo-Japanese War of 1905, since the Japanese economy began to develop along the capitalist path, and foreign fashion, in particular the European style of clothing, became popular. Demand grew, among other things, in those stores where kimonos had been previously sold [31, pp. 179–191]. In March 1931, the group of Muslims in Nagoya (名古屋回教徒団) was

established; the house of Syed Ghalif, who was responsible for accounting, was used as a prayer room for five daily prayers and Friday prayers. This place became the first mosque in the history of Japan. In 1937, a new mosque was built, which burned down during the bombing on May 14, 1945 [32].

In 1935, Japan's first mosque was built in the city of Kobe. In the opening speech, the mayor of Kobe, G. Katsuda, stressed that the mosque should become an instrument for strengthening friendship between races and a strong link of Muslim-Japanese friendship. The Muslims extended their gratitude to the emperor, who "showed immense grace" and gave freedom of religion to foreigners [33].

The reason for the Japanese government's warm attitude towards Islam was the pragmatic "Muslim policy". Whereas in the Cold War, the United States used Islam against the communist bloc, Japan in 1930s considered Islam as a "fort" for central and North-East Asia, and also used it to confront the Soviet Union, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China. The Japanese government faced challenging tasks. On the one hand, Japan could not support only Muslims, since, for example, in India, where Japan organized intelligence operations, there was an ongoing conflict between the Hindus and Muslims. On the other hand, Japan pursued a Muslim policy, since the support of Muslims was instrumental for the "liberation of Asian peoples". The locals also reacted in different ways. Noble Muslim families, for example, in Inner Mongolia, were actively involved in the Japanese Muslim politics, even though among themselves they hated Japanese intelligence officers and special services agents and called them devils [29, p. 60]. The idea of the Muslim policy belonged to Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yosuke [10, pp. 10–12], a man famous for announcing Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations in 1933 and signing a neutrality pact with Moscow in 1941. He also met several times with Konstantin Rodzaevsky, head of the All-Russian Fascist Party and head of the department of the Bureau for Russian Emigrants in the Manchurian Empire. The Bureau was established by the Japanese authorities of Manchuria in December 1934, almost three years after the founding of the puppet Manchukuo. Despite the fact that Japanese spiritual values were not attractive to Russian emigrants, the bureau united the Russian emigration [34, pp. 205–206].

In 1938, the Tokyo Mosque was opened (now the building houses the Turkish Cultural Centre [35]) in the presence of the Japanese elite and foreign guests, including Prince Hussein of the Yemeni royal family. Ibragimov became the imam of the mosque. He published the first Tatar magazine in Japan (新日本通報) and actively helped promote the Japanese Muslim policy [15, pp. 180–181]. The same year, the Research Centre for Islamic Studies (回教圏研究所) was officially established with the funding from Tokugawa Iemasa, the 17th head of the Tokugawa family, the Japanese Ambassador to Turkey in 1937–1939. The director was Okubo Koji, a well-known Turkologist who, during his visit to Turkey in 1936, secured a meeting with Mustafa Kemal Ataturk [36, pp. 495–498]. One of the greatest Japanese researchers of Islam and polyglot Izutsu Toshihiko, also attended this research centre. It is known that since 1937, he had been learning Arabic and Islam from Ibragimov, among other people [37]. The same year, the Greater Japan Muslim League (大日本回教協会) was founded with the support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the army and the Navy. Initially, the organisation only promoted culture. Then, it was in charge of Muslim organizations on the occupied territory in China and Manchuria, sponsored Ibragimov, and conducted promotional events. The first and only "Muslim exhibition" in Japan of 1939, which was organized in a state-enforced manner, opened in the Matsuza-

kaya Department store along with the First World Muslim Congress [31, pp.179–182]. The first president of the Greater Japan Muslim League was Hayashi Senjuro, who was Prime Minister of Japan for four months in 1937. From 1942–1945, the president was Shioden Nobutaka, a nationalist, anti-Zionist, who translated the Protocols of the Elders of Zion into Japanese. Later, Omura Kentaro (1888–1962) became an important member of the organisation and its executive director. He played a significant role in its development and reform; he had connections with Pugong, a cousin of the last Emperor of China Aixingero Pui (1906–1967), and Muhammad Gabdulhai Kurbangaliev (1889–1972) [38, pp. 14–15]. He was the nephew of the Japanese historian Shiratori Kurakichi, who developed the idea of the Altaic brotherhood in those years, which noted the importance of cooperation between the Japanese and the Altaic people [3, p. 189].

It should be noted that the critical column of the Tokyo Asahi newspaper (東京朝日新聞) dated August 15, 1940, analysed the July issues of the Kaike Ken (回教園) and Kaike Sekai (回教世界) magazines, published by the Centre for the Islamic Studies and the Muslim League, respectively. It was also apprehensive about the integration of private companies and government structures [36, pp.512–517].

An important role in Japan's Islamic policy was played by the radio, which was used as a means of propaganda among Muslims in the Middle East and was aimed at supporting Turkish neutrality and creating an image of Japan as a friendly country. Moreover, films were made for propaganda purposes. One of the films was released under the title "The Tokyo Muslim". It showed Ibragimov's life from birth to his death. The film was made by the Asahi Company and directed by Morigo Teruo. The Muslim League trained and helped the actors, provided filming locations. So far, it has not been possible to find information about whether the film was in general release. We can only mention there are reports that in February 1945 a "preview" took place at the Mitsukoshi department store on Nihonbashi in Tokyo [38, p. 17].

In 1945, on October 15, the organisation dissolved itself. However, the Japanese Muslim Association (日本イスラム協会) was soon established. It was chaired by the aforementioned Omura Kentaro. The Association continues to function at the present time and makes an invaluable contribution to Islamic Studies in Japan [38, pp. 17, 23].

Ibragimov and his contemporaries

A. R. Ibragimov died in Tokyo on August 31, 1944. He was buried at Tokyo's Tama Cemetery. Amin Al-Hussein, who carried out Islamic policy in Nazi Germany, responded to his death with a telegram of condolences: "Abdurresid Ibrahim was a famous Muslim missionary, who did a lot for Muslims. The Muslim world regrets to hear about his death". On September 18, 1944, Milli Bayrak, the newspaper of the Turkic-Muslim emigration in the Far East, wrote words of condolence on his death, expressing regret that Ibragimov "had not join our national movement. Therefore, apart from the relatives of the deceased, the Japanese did not know that he was a Turkic Tatar" [15, p. 188].

The Japanese materialist philosopher Kozai Yoshishige wrote in his diary on May 19: "They say the elderly Ibrahim died last night. This elderly man was the 'commodity' of Japanese Muslim society. The society embellished and inflated his figure in every possible way, and, therefore, continued to exist. I, myself, took part in the 'pilgrimage' of the 'saint'" [38, p. 10].

Conclusion

The transition from one ideology to another or the unification of different ideologies into one was a widespread trend. As the famous Turkish sociologist and writer, founder of Turkish nationalism Ziya Gökalp put it "...just as there is no contradiction between the ideals of Turkisation and Islamisation, so there is no conflict between them and the need for modernisation" [39, pp. 11–12].

Ibragimov, like many Muslims of that time, believed that Japan's success in the war against Russia would strengthen the likelihood and stability of the Asian coalition in the fight against Christian expansion and Western colonialism. This did not mean a departure from his main ideology, Pan-Islamist policy, since he perceived Pan-Islamism as the first step towards global Islamic unity. At first, he hoped that the Ottoman Empire could lead the coalition against the Europeans, which should spread "correct Islam" throughout the world [19, pp. 299–303]. Still, when the Ottoman Empire was politically unable not only to unite, but also to prevent its disintegration, he directed his attention to Japan and hoped that Japan would eventually accept Islam as its national religion. He saw this as a great advantage for Japan itself, which, due to Islam, could gain an upper hand, both politically and economically, as well as achieve one of the main goals — to have influence over China. He was willing to serve even Japanese expansionism in the Muslim South-East to achieve his goal against British and Russian colonialism.

There are different ways to evaluate Ibragimov's work. It can be said for sure that without Ibragimov there would not have been a "boom" in the study of Islam and the Middle East in Japan and the construction of the mosque in Tokyo. Without him, Japan's Muslim policy, the union of Pan-Islamism with Pan-Asianism, could not have been implemented. Despite the fact that all wartime associations were dissolved, some of them turned into research centres, and we can assume that they formed the foundations for the study of Islam and the Middle East in Japan. Unfortunately, much of the wartime research has not yet been thoroughly studied due to their "military" nature. Furthermore, we must not forget that some buildings, such as the minarets of the Tongxin Great Mosque, were built by the Japanese government at the request of Komura Fujio, an intelligence officer and the famous author of the book "The History of Islam in Japan". To this day, the elderly Muslims of Tongxin recall this event with gratitude [29, pp. 67–68].

78 years after the end of World War II, Ibragimov is becoming a popular historical figure not only among scholars who re-evaluate his work, but also among ordinary people in the Islamic world. He turns into a Muslim or Turkic hero, and his "flexibility", which can also be viewed as "unscrupulousness", and assertiveness are considered "one of the most attractive features for Muslims today, and in the 'Islamic eternity'" [5, p. 170]. At the same time, Japanese nationalist and Pan-Asian ideas are beginning to gain momentum in Japan again.

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Миссионерская деятельность А. Г. Ибрагимова (1857–1944) в Японии

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Статья посвящена описанию миссионерской деятельности А. Г. Ибрагимова в Японии, его отношениям с различными слоями общества Японии того периода. Основные работы на японском языке представляют собой произведения японских исследователей-туркологов Мисава Нобуо, Комацу Хисао и др., занимающихся в том числе и историей Османской империи. Ибрагимов посещал Японию три раза. О первом и втором визитах сохранилось очень мало информации, а третий описан довольно подробно, в том числе и в его собственных дневниках. Интерес вызвал факт общения Ибрагимова с японцами, которых традиционно считали ярыми националистами, а также то, что его общение с представителями правящего класса, как признают многие исследователи, могло повлиять на политику Японии в 30-е гг. XX в. В круг общения Ибрагимова входили: Охара Бункей — создатель «Азия Гикай», первый японский мусульманин; Тояма Мицуру — основатель «Гэньёся», лидер японского правого движения; Накано Дзётаро (Тэнсин) — японский мыслитель и один из идеологов создания «Азия Гикай»; Коно Хиронака — член нижней палаты парламента Японии, а в 1915–1916 гг. министр сельского хозяйства и торговли; Инукаи Цуёси, министр внутренних дел и министр просвещения, также в последние годы жизни — премьер-министр Японии и многие другие представители высшего общества, в том числе приближенные и члены императорской семьи. В результате деятельности Ибрагимова в Японии появились первые мусульманские общества, многие представители японской знати и простые люди приняли ислам и даже совершали хадж. В Токио была построена одна из крупнейших мечетей Японии. Можно утверждать, что в японском обществе появляется интерес к исламу, Япония установила связи с мусульманскими странами Ближнего Востока. При его участии были открыты паназиатские общества, которые просуществовали до конца Второй мировой войны. Кроме просветительской деятельности он занимался и преподаванием: одним из его учеников был величайший японский исследователь ислама, полиглот, профессор Токийского университета Идзуцу Тосихико.

Ключевые слова: А. Г. Ибрагимов, Япония, ислам, миссионерская деятельность, Османская империя, Турция, хадж.

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